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AUTHOR Pedro-Carroll, JoAnne
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ABSTRACT

This paper considers the effects of martial disruption on families and the associated risks to children. It discusses opportunities for reducing risk and fostering the psychological well-being of children and families, through research, carefully designed interventions, and proactive social policies. A theory of resilience as cumulative competence promotion and stress protection is applied to the understanding of opportunities for reducing the stress of parental breakup on children. Several strategies are recommended for promoting wellness such as building behavioral and social-emotional competencies and providing proactive modifications to social systems such as school, legal, and judicial systems. Research to date suggests some promising approaches to fostering children's resilience and healthy development. Preventive outreach to promote wellness in children and families should become a priority for future research. (Contains 70 references.) (JDM)

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The Promotion of Wellness in Children and Families:
Challenges and Opportunities

JoAnne Pedro-Carroll, Ph.D.

Children's Institute

University of Rochester

274 North Goodman Street, Suite D-103

Rochester, NY 14607

(716)295-1000 x264

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JoAnne Pedro-Carroll, Ph.D.
Children's Institute
University of Rochester

Secure family environments and emotionally responsive parents provide a cornerstone for youth growing up in our society. Often though, that foundation is shaky and in need of additional supports to buttress and protect children during difficult times. This article considers the effects of marital disruption on families and the associated risks for children. Most importantly, I want to balance the portrait of those challenges by highlighting opportunities for reducing risk and fostering the psychological well being of children and families through research, carefully designed evidence-based interventions and proactive social policies. Research on resilience and concepts of psychological wellness provide a theoretical foundation for conceptualizing and developing interventions. I will begin by considering the impact of our families on our lives. Alex Haley (1980), the author of the epic "Roots" once wrote: "The family is our refuge and our springboard; nourished on it we can advance to new horizons. In every conceivable manner, the family is link to our past, bridge to our future." Haley's words have resonated with me for years because they evoke the powerful image of a child's life shaped by countless interactions, both positive and negative, toward pathways of risk, or towards resilience and healthy development.

We all know that the of course family life is not always smooth. In fact, we can count on the inevitable stresses, strains and tough times that are part of the journey. With these challenges come the potential for danger as well as opportunity. Danger lies in the possibility that a family may be overwhelmed and lack the supportive resources to deal effectively with stressful life changes; opportunity is embedded in the potential for growth and positive changes that promote resilience and healthy outcomes for family members. Of course, family life has changed dramatically over the course of the 20th century, with increasing numbers of dual career couples, single parent families and record high rates of divorce and remarriage. Rates of divorce rose to unprecedented levels in the latter half of the 20th century, affecting over one million new children annually (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1998, Table 160). Currently, demographic estimates suggest that about half of first marriages end in divorce (Cherlin, 1992). However, that figure may actually be an underestimate, according to some demographers who maintain that if data on couples who separate but never file for divorce are also included in this figure, dissolution occurs in an astonishing 67% of first marriages (Castro & Bumpass, 1989). Much is known through clinical and empirical sources about how the process of a breakup is stressful for children and the challenges they face to surmount difficult life changes over time.

The Impact of Divorce on Children

Three predominant themes emerge from contemporary research on marital disruption:

1. Divorce is not a single event but a series of transitions and family reorganizations that modify the lives and developmental context of children. Divorce is synonymous with change--a myriad of changes that range from emotional to economic, e.g., changes in family relationships, standard of living, neighborhood, friends, remarriage, and sometimes even loss of a beloved pet.

2. The process of adjustment to these changes is stressful for families. However, it's important to note that family members are not affected uniformly by a divorce. What may be a positive life change or coping strategy for one family member is not necessarily beneficial for other family members. Indeed, four out of five divorces are not mutually initiated, resulting in a very different emotional process for the initiator and the one being left. Children rarely wish for a divorce, so their reactions and adjustment processes are understandably often divergent from their parents. This reality is echoed in children's comments (e.g., "I guess the divorce has made things better for mom or dad, but not for me").

3. Although the process of marital dissolution is surely stressful for children, there is substantial variation in their adjustment to divorce over time. However, most children experience considerable distress in the early stages. Sadness, anxiety, anger, resentment, confusion, guilt, fears for their future, loyalty conflicts, somatic symptoms and grieving for absent parents are frequent early reactions. The trajectory of children's long term adjustment is shaped by a number of risk and protective factors that will be considered in this article.

For many parents facing the decision to end a marriage, key questions often include: "How will this decision affect our children? Will it result in long

term problems for our children, or will they eventually adjust? Is it better to stay together for the children's sake?" Most often, the answer to these important questions, is "it depends." For how children fare in the aftermath of divorce depends on the interplay of a number of risk and protective factors linking pathways toward heightened risk or resilience. Although there has been controversy in the literature about the magnitude of the impact of divorce on children, sophisticated meta-analytic studies that examine research findings across many investigations have contributed to an emerging consensus that parental divorce poses specific risks for children (Amato, 2000). Compared to children whose parents remained married, children with divorced parents have significantly lower functioning on a variety of indices, including academic achievement, psychological adjustment, self-concept, conduct and social competence. While the average effect sizes are small, ranging from .08 of a standard deviation for psychological adjustment to .23 of a standard deviation for conduct (Amato & Keith, 1991), longitudinal studies suggest that the effects for some children may be quite enduring. Cherlin and colleagues (Chase-Lansdale, Cherlin & Kiernan, 1995; Cherlin, Chase-Lansdale & McRae, 1998) found that the gap in psychological well-being between children with divorced and non-divorced parents increased between adolescence and young adulthood and was magnified with the passage of time. Other studies have documented the heightened risk parental divorce poses for a host of difficulties in adulthood, including lower socioeconomic status, poor subjective well-being, increased

marital problems and a greater likelihood of divorce in one's own marriage (see Amato, 1999 for a review).

These sobering outcomes raise important questions about the intergenerational transmission of divorce and the extension into adulthood of vexing problems that cast a shadow on life satisfaction. Yet, we know that these outcomes are not inevitable; nor are they uniformly applicable to all children. It is important to note that most children from divorced families do not exhibit significant behavior problems, depression, school failure or incompetence in interpersonal relationships (Emery, 1999). A more balanced view of the impact of divorce clarifies distress from disorder. Rather than assuming that small effect sizes mean children are invulnerable to the divorce, this approach is sensitive to the negative thoughts and painful feelings that young people have about their family of origin in relation to divorce. In two studies assessing college students' feelings, beliefs and memories about their parents' divorce, many painful memories and distressing feelings were reported more than a decade after the breakup (Laumann-Billings & Emery, 2000). Yet, both studies also revealed significant strengths in addition to the struggles with which these young adults grappled. Research of this nature helps to integrate opposing views of clinical and empirical literature on children and divorce. Clinical reports may sometimes accentuate the pain, loss and difficulties associated with divorce and overlook successful coping. Conversely, researchers may err in the direction of missing more subtle distress while documenting small effect sizes on rates of disorder and the resilience of most children. Taken together, findings from these studies

and the larger body of research suggests that most children of divorced families are functioning well but their distress and painful memories can be quite enduring (Laumann-Billings & Emery, 2000).

It is noteworthy that a few studies have identified positive consequences of divorce. Better outcomes for children occur when parents in high conflict marriages divorce rather than remain together (Amato, Loomis & Booth, 1995; Amato & Booth, 1997). An unequivocal finding of these, and other such studies is clear: when conflict between parents is intense, chronic and overt, divorce is an effective release from a toxic home environment for children. However, only a minority of all divorces appear to be characterized by such high levels of chronic conflict (Amato & Booth, 1997).

While it is evident that children benefit from their parents' separation in high conflict marriages, the reverse appears to be true for children of parents in low conflict marriages. In a study by Booth & Amato (2001), children with the highest levels of depression and anxiety had either low conflict parents who divorced or high conflict parents who stayed together. The authors suggest that the termination of high conflict, hostile marriages can have protective benefits for children since it removes them from a stressful, corrosive environment. Children in these families tend to view the divorce as an escape from acrimony, and as adults they tend to reap the benefits in better psychological well being. On the other hand, children from low conflict marriages tend to view their parents' divorce as an unexpected, unwelcome and uncontrollable loss, with deeply felt social and psychological ramifications.

According to Booth & Amato (2001), these results suggest that: 1) Divorce may be helpful or harmful to children, depending on whether it decreases or increases children's exposure to on-going stress. 2) Children from high conflict families fare better over time if their parents divorce rather than remain together. 3) Conversely, children in low conflict marriages that end in divorce experience significant emotional and social difficulties, including decreased quality of interpersonal relationships, lack of social support from friends and relatives and poorer relationships with parents. 4) The tendency to divorce among low conflict parents is related to low community involvement, willingness to engage in high risk behavior and lack of knowledge about the effects of divorce on children. These findings have important implications for interventions, practice and policies.

Ironically, it appears that divorces which pose the greatest risks to children occur in marriages with the greatest potential for reconciliation, or at least the potential for managing the breakup in ways that reduce the stressful impact on children. Clinically, there may be an important window of opportunity for interventions and supportive outreach to couples in distress to deepen intimacy, and provide skills for effective communication and conflict management. However, one of the major challenges to successful marital interventions is the "delay" problem (Gottman & Gottman, 1999). Simply put, couples who realize that their marriages are in trouble wait an average of 6 years before seeking professional help (Notarius & Buongiorno, 1992)! The challenge is to reach out

to couples early on to provide effective interventions that can ameliorate or reverse the downward spiral before destructive processes have taken root.

Recent advances in the marriage enrichment movement and preventive approaches to couples therapy provide excellent examples of models with potential to reduce the likelihood of divorce. These promising approaches aim to promote marital satisfaction, deepen intimacy, and enhance well being through therapeutic skills training and education (Gordon & Durana, 1999; Gottman & Gottman 1999; Gottman & DeClaire, 2001; Stanley, Blumberg & Markman, 1999). Although these laudable efforts provide ample reason for optimism, the current reality is that parental divorce and remarriage pose challenges for millions of children and adolescents. For some, that reality may be a long rough road with unexpected twists and turns, while for others the road may be relatively smooth.

How is it that some children, after an initial period of adjustment, manage to adjust well to family changes, while others sustain long term difficulties? Illuminating the different pathways that account for these varied outcomes is a critical research agenda that can help to refine our existing knowledge base. Research on processes that promote resilience provides valuable information that helps to shed light on prevention research, theory and practice.

The Promotion of Cumulative Competence and Wellness

Emory Cowen, my mentor, friend and colleague, was a stalwart advocate of prevention and the promotion of wellness in children. His passionate,

steadfast belief was that "allocations of our energies and resources must go increasingly toward building wellness rather than struggling, however compassionately, to contain troubles" (Cowen, 1991). In an address entitled "In Pursuit of Wellness" presented at the APA convention in Boston in 1990, where he received the Award for Distinguished Contributions to Psychology in the Public Interest, Cowen emphasized the need to build research and prevention programs around the concept of psychological wellness rather than after-the-fact diagnosis and repair models. His comprehensive approach to the promotion of well-being encompassed multi-faceted strategies that have potential for advancing wellness in families dealing with divorce: 1) fortify and build social-emotional competence, 2) foster skills that promote coping and resilience, 3) facilitate proactive social system modification, and 4) promote opportunities for empowerment (Cowen, 1991).

Resilience is an oft-heard term with various implied meanings, but prominent researchers define it as demonstrated competence in the context of challenges to adaptation or development (Masten & Coatsworth, 1998), and marked by achievement of positive developmental outcomes under significantly adverse conditions (Wyman, Cowen, Work, Hoyt-Myers, Magnus, & Fagen, 1999). Clarifying the processes that shape the course of children's developmental trajectories provides important understanding of both normal and disrupted developmental pathways (Cicchetti & Garmezy, 1993). Resilience is conceptualized as an important component within a broader concept of wellness (Cowen, 1994). Although the term "wellness" has an

enduring panacea-like quality, the concept is not intended as a static state-of-being. Rather, as developmental psychopathologists have noted, adjustment is influenced by changes over time as conditions, environments and life events unfold (Cicchetti, 1989; Masten, 1989). This view suggests a bilateral proposition that, just as wellness can erode under adverse conditions, so can it be enhanced by nurturing conditions or protective processes, whether naturally occurring, or by design. This view produces both challenge and hope, similar to the concept of life crises having the shared potential for danger and opportunity. The challenge is to identify factors or processes that promote or hinder psychological wellness. The hope is embedded in opportunities for shaping better outcomes for children (Cowen, 1991).

Psychological wellness can be promoted via protective factors that are pathways toward resilience, providing supportive scaffolding for children (Vygotsky, 1978). For example, a child can perform at a more advanced level with consistent structure and support provided by a caring, competent adult. The key is to foster multiple resources, and reduce risks through the enhancement of supportive resources across systems that affect children. Such a cumulative protection approach is intended to provide a foundation upon which children can effectively navigate challenges throughout childhood and adolescence (Masten & Coatsworth, 1998). Wyman, Sandler, Wolchik and Nelson, (2000) offer a theoretical framework they term "cumulative competence promotion and stress protection" to describe how interventions can be fortified by utilizing an organizational-developmental model of resilience. Central features of this model

involve: 1) enhancing protection from the negative impact of adverse experiences and 2) facilitating the child's mastery of healthy developmental milestones.

Children and Divorce: A Risk and Resilience Perspective

Although there is a paucity of research on divorce which utilizes a resilience perspective, Emery & Forehand (1994) identified a number of protective factors found in the literature and classified them into three categories: individual, familial and extra familial support. For the purposes of this article, I focus only on those factors which are modifiable, with implications for mediating protective processes to promote healthy post-divorce adjustment for children and adolescents.

Table 1 identifies those protective factors.

Insert Table 1 about here

Individual Factors

Children's Coping Styles

If given a choice about their parents' impending divorce, for most children, the vote would be a resounding "No!" Coping with unwanted, uncontrollable and often unexpected life-altering experiences can be enormously challenging, if not overwhelming. Thus, individual coping strategies provide a protective buffer from the negative impact of such stressors. Studies have identified a number of

individual resources that are related to the quality of children's adjustment. Children who blame themselves, and have misconceptions or inaccurate attributions about the divorce have been shown to have more difficulties (Kurdek & Berg, 1983, 1987). Preventive interventions that focus on building effective coping styles, clarifying misconceptions, framing realistic appraisals of control and accurate attributions for parental problems have been shown to relate to better adjustment in school-aged children (Pedro-Carroll & Cowen, 1985; Pedro-Carroll, Cowen, Hightower & Guare, 1986; Alpert-Gillis, Pedro-Carroll & Cowen, 1989; Pedro-Carroll, Alpert-Gillis & Cowen, 1992; Pedro-Carroll & Alpert-Gillis, 1997; Pedro-Carroll, Sutton & Wyman, 1999).

Similarly, active coping that involves problem solving and positive thinking has been related to less depression and shown to mitigate the effects of stress on conduct problems (Sandler, Tein, & West, 1994). Coping efficacy, or children's evaluations of the success of their coping efforts in the face of stressful situations, appears to be a mediator between active coping and fewer internalizing problems (Sandler, Tein, Mehta, Wolchik & Ayers, in press). This study provides important evidence that the protective effects of coping may be mediated by children's feelings of confidence and empowerment that stem from competent management of the challenges in their lives. Collectively, these studies demonstrate the importance of incorporating protective factors into interventions for children. One caveat bears mention however: Multiple factors interact in producing risk or resilience. Thus, one cluster of variables provides

only a portion of the many building blocks needed to form a foundation of resilience.

Family Factors

Family process variables have been the focus of significantly more research than individual child factors related to risk or resilience in the aftermath of divorce. The following factors are identified here for their potential to be modified to provide protective benefits to children.

Parent Conflict

Research on interparental conflict provides solid evidence that high levels of conflict between parents are linked to psychological problems among children (Emery, 1982; Grych & Fincham, 1990; 1992). Conflict of course, is a natural part of the process of ending a relationship and disengaging emotionally. However, not all conflict is created equal. Conflict that involves verbal aggression, incomplete resolution (Cummings, Vogel, Cummings & El-Sheikh, 1989), and child-related content (Grych & Fincham, 1993) has been shown to be more emotionally upsetting to children and poses greater perceived threat to them. In contrast, non-aggressive conflicts that are resolved do not distress children any more so than nonconflictual discussions (Cummings, Ballard, El-Sheikh & Lake, 1991). Interestingly, if children are told that a conflict has been resolved, the negative impact on them is reduced. In contrast, unresolved and on-going conflict sensitizes children to further acrimony (Cummings, 1987)

disrupts parenting and is linked to children's behavior problems (Fauber, Forehand, Thomas & Wierson, 1990). These disruptions in parenting can erode both the quality and quantity of positive parent-child interactions. As 7 year old "Jessica" with tears welling in her eyes, recently told me, "All the good stuff has gone away since all the fighting... good stuff like the way my mommy and daddy used to snuggle me at night..." For Jessica, her parents' divorce has not provided the intended solution of an end to the bitterness that marked their marriage--it has only compounded her losses.

The implications for educational interventions for parents like Jessica's are clear: encapsulate conflict and not allow it to seep into every aspect of life and erode precious relationships and one-on-one time with children. Preventive interventions can serve parents well by incorporating skills for conflict resolution, anger management, adopting a more businesslike approach and disengaging from inflammatory verbal exchanges and interactions (Pedro-Carroll, Nakhnikian & Montes, 2001). In situations of unabated, intense and chronic conflict, parallel parenting may well be a more appropriate model. Above all, the clear implication for children's well-being is that they must be protected from the toxic effects of on-going conflict.

Parental functioning and psychological well-being

One of the best predictors of children's healthy adjustment is the quality of parental functioning. Threats to effective functioning are embedded in the numerous stresses inherent in the process of a divorce that can leave adults

vulnerable to psychological and physical problems (Chase-Lansdale & Hetherington, 1990). Marital disruption has been shown to be related to suppressed immunologic functioning, which may increase divorced adults' susceptibility to disease, chronic and acute medical conditions and even death (Kiecolt-Glaser, Fisher, Ogrocki, Stout, Speicher, & Glaser, 1987).

Thus, at a time when children are grappling with stressful family changes they often encounter parents who are unable to provide the emotional stability and support they so urgently need. Conversely, there is evidence that mothers who are able to provide nurturing, high quality relationships with their children buffer the negative impact of divorce stressors on children's adjustment (Camara & Resnick, 1989; Hetherington, Cox & Cox, 1982; Wolchik, Wilcox, Tein & Sandler, 1998).

There are numerous implications of these studies for prevention, practice, and policy. It is clear that divorce poses risks to adults' physical and emotional well-being. It is equally clear that having a well functioning parent is a potent protective pathway to children's healthy development. Furthermore, the development of healthy attachment relationships between children and their caregivers is a critical foundation for children's competence and resilience in the face of adversity (Masten & Coatsworth, 1998). Fostering these strong and nurturing relationships merits top priority for interventions and social and legal policies. Educational outreach and preventive interventions should be proactive in emphasizing the message to parents of the importance of taking care of themselves physically and emotionally so that they can best care for their

children. Providing parents with information about healthy management of stress, warning signs that professional help may be needed, and linking them with additional supportive resources once a program has ended appears to be a promising approach (Pedro-Carroll et al., 2001). Many parent education programs for separating couples provide such information. Although most of these programs are of short duration, one of the consistent benefits appears to be that parents' awareness and use of supportive resources is increased. Thus, these programs should not be viewed as an end point for parents, but as a means to the end of seeking additional resources, as needed to support healthy family functioning. It is beneficial to frame help seeking when needed, as a sign of strength, not weakness. This message has important implications for shaping legal policy to ensure that adults are not penalized in court proceedings because of having sought mental health care.

Solid, supportive parent-child relationships

Researchers and clinicians concerned with outcomes for children dealing with divorce can benefit from sophisticated studies of developmental processes that foreshadow risk or resilience (Wyman et al., 1999; Masten & Coatsworth, 1998; Wyman, Cowen, Work, Raoof, Gribble, Parker & Wannon, 1992). Research on resilience for children in adverse circumstances has recurring themes in common with research on children and divorce: the importance of a supportive relationship between children and at least one parent or caregiver (Black & Pedro-Carroll, 1993; Emery & Forehand, 1994; Masten, 1994).

However, compelling evidence suggests that parent-child relationships can erode significantly in the aftermath of divorce (Zill, Morrison & Coiro, 1993). Equally noteworthy is the fact that a solid, healthy relationship with one parent has the potential to buffer children from a negative relationship with the other parent, suggesting protective resilience-promoting processes. Evidently, these high quality relationships serve as a life-line that protects children from divorce related stress, enhances children's felt security, reduces fears and conveys a message that help is available. Moreover, parents who have high quality relationships may actively shield their children from exposure to divorce related stressors such as involving them in conflict or burdensome adult concerns (Wyman et al., 1999).

Further evidence of the mediating power of parent-child relationships was found in a study of the long term adjustment of young adults whose parents had divorced an average of 11 years earlier (Black & Pedro-Carroll, 1993). Using path analyses, this study explored the long-term effects of divorce, interparental conflict, and parent-child relationships on trust, empathy, dependency and depression among college students. Results revealed that the effects of interparental conflict on psychological well being were mediated by parent-child relationships. Interestingly for young women, the negative impact of divorce was mediated through an indirect pathway, via disrupted father-daughter relationships. In general, emotionally secure relationships with parents was associated with perceived efficacy, including greater trust and less dependency in interpersonal relationships, and less likelihood of depression (Black & Pedro-Carroll, 1993).

These studies underscore the central mediating role of parent-child relationships and the potent protective processes that can occur under conditions of emotionally secure connections between parents and children. Interventions targeted to separating parents that teach effective parenting practices and strengthen parent-child relationships hold much promise for stress protection and fostering resilience (Wolchik, West, Westover, Sandler, Martin, Lusting, Tein & Fisher, 1993; Forgatch & DeGarmo, 1999).

Nonresident fathers and children's well being

Until recently, the relationship between contact with fathers and children's adjustment yielded mixed results that generated considerable political and social controversy. A recent meta-analysis of 63 different studies on the influence of nonresident fathers' involvement with their children has sharpened our understanding of the important role fathers can have on children's well being. In general, the frequency of fathers' contact was not related to child outcomes in general, but fathers' timely payment of child support significantly improved children's economic and general well being, and enhanced their health status and educational attainment. Two additional aspects of the father-child relationship: close emotional bonds and authoritative parenting were positively related to children's academic achievement and negatively related to children's externalizing and internalizing problems (Amato & Gilbreth, 1999).

Strong emotional bonds and feelings of interdependence characterized the relationships in which children fared best, supporting other studies

demonstrating the importance of healthy father-child relationships (Black & Pedro-Carroll, 1993; Braver & Griffin, 2000; Buchanan, Maccoby & Dornbusch, 1996). However, increased contact alone did not improve emotional health when fathers failed to be authoritative parents. Amato & Gilbreth (1999) conclude that both girls and boys benefit from the involvement of non-resident fathers who provide consistent emotional support, praise accomplishments, discipline misbehavior and support children's school engagement. These findings have important policy implications: the manner in which fathers relate to their children is most important, not the specific number of contacts. Mental health and legal professionals often see a process of gradual disengagement on the part of fathers, or hear sad commentary from a disheartened father suggesting that his children might be better off without him. The results of the 30 years of studies contained in this meta-analysis suggest that authoritative parenting and close emotional bonds between children and fathers serve as protective processes that are clearly in the best interests of children and should be fostered by interventions and policies.

Extrafamilial factors

We often think of children's post divorce adjustment solely in terms of their family of origin. However, resources that extend beyond the child's immediate family can provide a rich source of support to buffer the impact of tough times. Consider for example, the important role of grandparents, extended family, friends who are like family and teachers who provide consistent, secure, supportive relationships that provide buoyancy for children treading in turbulent

seas. A number of studies have documented the benefits of social support from adults outside the family, and from healthy peer relationships (Cowen, Pedro-Carroll & Alpert-Gillis, 1990; Jenkins & Smith, 1990; Kelly & Wallerstein, 1977).

Extending support to families through carefully designed preventive interventions is proving to be another avenue toward promoting psychological well being in children and parents. Preventive interventions for children of divorce have been designed to: 1) reduce the stress of a breakup on children through group support and shared experiences, 2) clarify misconceptions and increase children's accurate understanding of family changes, 3) enhance children's competencies and feelings of self-efficacy through training in strategies for effective coping and interpersonal skills (Pedro-Carroll, 1997).

One such child-focused intervention is the Children of Divorce Intervention Program (CODIP), a preventive, school-based intervention based on theories of prevention, and research on factors predicting risk and resilience in children in the aftermath of divorce. Developed initially for 4th-6th grade students, the results of early program evaluations demonstrated that program children, compared to a randomly assigned, matched control group, improved significantly more on teacher rated behavior problems and competencies, parents' reports of home adjustment, and children's reports of improvements in self-perceptions and accurate understanding of family changes (Pedro-Carroll & Cowen, 1985). A replication study with different group leaders and schools confirmed these initial findings (Pedro-Carroll, Cowen, Hightower & Guare, 1986). Those early studies provided the empirical foundation for informing subsequent adaptations, over the

next 18 years, of the program for children of different ages (Pedro-Carroll & Alpert-Gillis, 1997; Pedro-Carroll, Sutton & Black, 1993) and socio-cultural backgrounds, including children from urban populations where divorce is but one of many stressors (Alpert-Gillis, Pedro-Carroll & Cowen, 1989; Pedro-Carroll, Alpert-Gillis & Cowen, 1992).

The CODIP intervention with young adolescents (Pedro-Carroll, Sutton, & Black, 1993) found that participants learned skills for managing anger, solving interpersonal problems, differentiating between controllable and uncontrollable problems, disengaging from parent conflict and refocusing on age-appropriate activities. A finding of particular interest for this age group was the increase in participants' hopes and expectations for the future. Specifically, they saw themselves as having better futures in such areas as personal responsibility and interpersonal relationships, staying out of trouble, and having people who care about them. In a study of childhood resilience, Wyman, Cowen, Work, and Kerley (1993) found that the presence of positive future expectations among 10 to 12-year old at-risk urban children predicted adaptive outcomes 3 years later. Such views functioned as a protective factor in reducing some negative effects of major life stress.

Each of these studies provided information that was part of a valuable feedback loop for enhancing clinical sensitivity to developmental and cultural considerations, refining content and delivery and building a base of evidence supporting the efficacy of the intervention model (Pedro-Carroll, 1997).

The outcomes cited above reflect children's adjustment when the program ended. Pedro-Carroll, Sutton, and Wyman (1999) assessed the stability of outcomes over a 2 year follow-up period. New teachers, blind to children's initial group status, rated CODIP children as having significantly fewer school-related difficulties and more competencies than children in the control group. Parent interviews reflected similar benefits and data from health records indicated that program children evidenced fewer visits to the school health office with vague complaints of malaise. These findings suggest that the program provided support and competence enhancement with protective benefits for children that endured over time (Pedro-Carroll, Sutton & Wyman, 1999).

A second, very promising intervention approach for promoting better outcomes for children focuses on enhancing post-divorce parenting and strengthening parent-child relationships. The New Beginnings Project, developed by Wolchik and colleagues, teaches custodial mothers effective discipline strategies, positive family activities, including one-on-one time, listening skills and the use of positive reinforcement (Wolchik et al., 1993). Another innovative, effective intervention model for parents was developed by Forgatch & DeGarmo (1999) emphasizing the use of noncoercive disciplinary practices and limit setting. Results of controlled evaluation studies of these programs provide evidence of their efficacy in improving parenting and reducing child adjustment problems. Furthermore, those improvements in the quality of the mother-child relationship and discipline accounted for the salutary outcomes in children's well being at 6 months follow-up (Wolchik, 2000). Collectively, these programs

provide examples of the potential for evidence-based preventive interventions to provide protective resources to reduce the stressful impact of divorce and to foster children's healthy adjustment.

Summary

The challenges and risks associated with marital disruption are well documented. Significantly less attention has been given to protective processes that enhance resilience and positive outcomes for children. The goal of this article is to apply a theory of resilience as cumulative competence promotion and stress protection (Wyman, et al., 2000) to our understanding of opportunities for reducing the stress of parental breakup on children.

The literature on resilience and psychological wellness provides a beacon of light to inform divorce research, practice and policy. Cowen's (1991) recommendation of multi-faceted strategies for the promotion of wellness have important implications for families dealing with divorce. Those approaches include: 1) *Build behavioral and social-emotional competencies*: Preventive interventions for children and parents that have focal skill building components hold much potential for enhancing key areas of family and individual well being. The recent proliferation of parent education programs for separating couples is a positive step toward providing information to help parents protect their children from on-going stress. However, more research is clearly needed to provide an evidence base for those programs, and to identify essential content and a model for best practices. Some evidence suggests that parent education programs that

provide specific skills training to enhance effective parenting practices may have more favorable outcomes over time (Pedro-Carroll & Frazee, 2001).

2) *Foster resilience*: A worthy and yet challenging goal is to help children not only survive, but thrive in the aftermath of divorce. We know that resilience is not merely the opposite of risk and that complex life circumstances require multifaceted solutions over time. Creating environments that provide protection from severe stress and providing competence building resources for children over the course of their development should be a priority for future research and practice.

3) *Proactive social system modification*: Fostering resilience requires efforts across key systems affecting the lives of children. Schools can provide supportive outreach to children through school based group support for children and proactive policies that encourage the active involvement of both parents in their children's school success. The legal/judicial system can have an enormous impact on divorcing parents and whether conflict is intensified or reduced through adversarial proceedings. An alternative for families, modeled by some jurisdictions, is a unified court system that is sensitive to cultural diversity and issues of domestic violence and which offers effective parent education and mediation, where appropriate, as an alternative to costly litigation.

4) *Empowerment*: For most adults mired in protracted litigation, feelings of powerlessness are common. Even for family members not entrenched in legal battles, divorce can pose challenges that appear overwhelming. As Thomas Jefferson once said, "knowledge is power." Our efforts to reach out to families in transition should be informed by current research, evidence-based interventions,

and policies that keep children's developmental needs a top priority. We must be ever mindful of uniformity myths that one approach to a problem can be applied with equal efficacy to all (Kiesler, 1966). Different approaches are required to address the complex and diverse needs of families. Numerous challenges remain, but there is also reason for optimism. The research to date suggests some very promising approaches to fostering children's resilience and healthy development. Hopefully, preventive outreach to promote wellness in children and families will become a priority for future research, practice and policy.

Footnote

This article is written in memory of Emory L. Cowen, Ph.D., cherished friend, esteemed colleague and mentor, with enduring gratitude and respect for all he has given over the years.

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Correspondence regarding this article should be forwarded to JoAnne Pedro-Carroll, Ph.D., Children's Institute, 274 North Goodman Street, Ste. D-103, Rochester, NY 14607. Electronic mail may be sent to jpcarroll@childrensinstitute.net.

Table 1. Protective factors identified in research on children and divorce

Individual Factors	Family Factors	Extrafamilial Factors
Realistic appraisal of control	Protection from interparental conflict	Supportive relationship with positive adult models
Accurate attributions	Psychological well-being of parents	Support network: family, school and community
Active coping style	Solid, supportive parent-child relationships	Evidence-based preventive interventions providing support and skills training
Effective coping skills	Authoritative parenting; household stability and structure	

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